1: Gorer J-5 (1937)1938 AK5 Lepcha AK5

religion, with the rejection of those elements which are alien to the major cultural attitudes, is probable when the converted culture is fully integrated; I think parallels might be found in the conversion to Hinduism of the Nepali, and some of the native Christian and Mahomedan sects in Africa, and, possibly, among the American negroes. When the society is more or less disrupted and the convert feels himself to be alone in an alien world, individual conversion is likely to be much more complete; the Christian Lepchas with whom I came in contact in India and Gangtok had accepted the individualised Christian ethic, with its sense of sin, completely; their whole character-formation and major attitudes appeared to be modified by this conversion; and I very much regret that I was unable to study this character alteration in any detail. I should like to suggest the axiom that *Fully integrated cultures will only accept in an imported complex those elements which are congruent to the existing major attitudes, or which are felt to fill a want; those elements which are violently opposed to existing attitudes will either be excluded or so modified as to bring them into congruence with existing attitudes.* If this axiom is correct it would appear that we can learn from the observation of primitive societies much about the probable results of imposing violent social changes on simple or more complex societies.

iii

The vocation to become a lama is determined by the horoscope which is cast on the third day after birth. All the children of lamas should themselves become lamas, but in practice usually only the eldest son follows the whole career; the younger ones receive sufficient preliminary instruction to enable them to read one or two sacred manuals. The children of laymen are also occasionally predestined to become lamas, usually because they are reincarnations of dead lamas; should a child so predestined not follow his vocation as a lama he will become a half-wit. It occasionally happens that people who are not predestined to become lamas wish to study; they may do so, but 'their destiny will overcome them'.

If it is seen that the infant is going to become a lama he is presented with a yellow sash, and from a very early age his father will bring him to monastery ceremonies to allow him to get accustomed to the special atmosphere. Between the ages of ten and fifteen a teacher is chosen for the child. The choice of a teacher is supposed to be determined by his knowledge exclusively; under

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793 no circumstances can the biological father teach his own son; any other relative who is properly qualified may do so. Thus Chimpet 875 was being taught by his 'grandfather' the second Dorjé Lapoon. If the teacher resides in the same house no formalities occur, but this is very rare; nearly always teachers are strangers, and often live in a different village to the pupil's parents. When the teacher has been selected the parents present him with a big pig, a load of *chi*, a ceremonial scarf and a rupee and the child goes to live with his teacher for three years, usually working for his teacher in the daytime, and receiving instruction in the evening. The child is allowed to visit his parents from time to time, but if he runs away he will be beaten and sent back. According to Tafoor, when he was a student one teacher might have six or seven pupils, and in consequence emulation increased the general level of knowledge; nowadays in Zongu most teachers have only a single pupil at a time, so that there are no spurs to overcome native indolence.

The preliminary instruction is almost entirely confined to the teaching of reading; there are small excerpts from the scriptures specially prepared for this purpose; the pupil learns by heart one page at a time. He is also taught to a certain extent methods of prayer and the playing of musical instruments, but these branches are pursued more fully when the teacher has given his pupil his ceremonial qualification or *loong*. I cannot find out to what extent this notion of *loong* is Tibetan, and to what extent specifically Lepcha; it recurs in all stages of Lepcha life whenever there is a teacher-pupil situation. When the pupil has learned whatever he is being taught—the ritual of the Mun, a sacred story, the correct method of sacrificing after hunting, the offering of *sakyou faat*—his teacher gives him a scarf and usually a ceremonial meal or drink, after which the pupil does whatever he has been taught in front of and for his teacher. When the teacher has given his pupil *loong* the boy is formally presented at the monastery with the ceremony of *di-tset*. This ceremony is a very small affair; the pupil and his teacher drink tea with two lamas and then the novice is presented with some *chi*, a scarf and a rupee in the name of the monastery. A novice so received is called *chapti-bu*. Even before this reception a pupil will often accompany his teacher or father to all ceremonies, making himself useful by helping in the fashioning of ceremonial objects, by holding the big metal instruments, and possibly by beating the gongs or drums.

793 Above *chapti-bu* there are six grades of lamas; to pass from one